

A N N I V E R S A R Y
T H A N K S G I V I N G
S E R M O N,

On P S A L M ix. 16.

FOR THE EVER MEMORABLE

Victory at *Culloden*, April 16, 1746.

WITH AN ABRIDGEMENT OF

The History of that unnatural Rebellion.

To which is added

An APPENDIX, IN TWO PARTS:

C O N T A I N I N G

- I. The Wanderings of CHARLES, the *Pretender's* Son, for Five Months after his Defeat, about the Isles and Highlands of *Scotland*, till he escaped to *France*.
- II. A View of the most remarkable *Providences* of God, in delivering this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Tyranny*, within Two Hundred Years last past.

" Our Lips shall tell them to our Sons—

" Thus shall they learn in God alone

" Their Hope securely stands,

" That they may ne'er forget his Works,

" But practise his Commands." Ps. lxxviii. Dr. Watts.

Virginibus puerisque canto.

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,

Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis,

Clari Giganteo triumpho,

Cuncta supercilio moventis.

Hor. Od. 1. iii. Od. 1.

—And those that walk in Pride He is able to abase. Dan. iv. 37.

L O N D O N:

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IN



WITH
EARNEST PRAYER
THAT GRACE PEACE TRUTH AND LOVE
MAY BE MULTIPLIED
ON ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST:

THIS PERFORMANCE
IS MORE PARTICULARLY INSCRIBED TO THOSE
WHO IN YOUTH

FOR MANY YEARS PAST HAVE BEEN OR NOW ARE
INSTRUCTED
IN THE RUDIMENTS OF CHRISTIANITY,

BY
THEIR AFFECTIONATE CATECHIST

ISAAC TOMS.

Advertisement.



THE following *Scenes* were not studied with the least design to be made public; but on a proposal, some time after the delivery, that it might appear, with the succinct account of the Rebellion for better information of the well-disposed, it is now published with enlargements.

The Appendix Part I. will naturally engage the curiosity and attention of the young reader; and Part II. should do much more; should raise the hearts of all religious Protestants to adore the God of Providence, and to praise and to fear the LORD, and his goodness, lest after such, so many, so great Deliverances as are there recorded, we prove ingrates, forget his favours, break his laws, and join friendship with the wicked, till the anger of the MOST HIGH come forth as fire, and consume, till there be no remnant, nor escaping, Ezra ix. 13, 14, 15.

Parents, ministers, and masters are particularly bound to regard this; seeing it is their duty to make known to the rising generation, and more especially to those under their care, the wonderful works of the Lord, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments. Psalm lxxviii. 4, seq.

HADLEIGH, August 28. 1776.



*The Duty of frequent Meditation on
the Glory of GOD displayed by his
signal Providences;*

A

S E R M O N, &c.

PSALM ix, 16.

THE LORD IS KNOWN BY THE JUDG-
MENT WHICH HE EXECUTETH: THE
WICKED IS SNARED IN THE WORK
OF HIS OWN HANDS. HIGGAIION, SELAH.

THE Afflictions and sorrows of this
life should never so engross the
T hearts of the true church and peo-
ple of God, which is the mysti-
cal body of Christ, as to shut the
lips of Praise. No, it well becomes every
saint, that is, every faithful servant of Christ
Jesus the Lord to say,

B

" I'll

“I'll praise my Maker with my Breath;
 And when my Voice is lost in Death,
 Praise shall employ my nobler Pow'rs:
 My Days of Praise shall ne'er be past
 While Life, and Thought, and Being last,
 Or Immortality endures.”

Dr. Watts, Psalm cxlvi.

Thus, notwithstanding the present state of a considerable part of the *British* Empire is indeed exceedingly afflictive, and loudly calls for serious Consideration, Lamentation, Prayer, and Fasting, before the Lord, with Repentance, and its genuine fruit *Reformation*; yet we should not forgetfully pass by an anniversary Day of *Thanksgiving* to God, which through his long-suffering goodness is now the *Thirtieth* that has been recorded in this Society.

Shall the black and heavy clouds which hang over the kingdom, threatening greater and more lasting evils than I shall venture to express, Shall these turn us aside from the blessed work of praising the Most High for the grand Deliverance granted to this Nation on that memorable day, *April 16, 1746*?—Surely it becomes us to stand up and bless the Name of the Lord, whose Name is exalted above all blessing and praise; who answered the repeated earnest requests of his praying people in this land after they had persevered for many months, in supplicating his mercy, for the precious Redeemer's sake. Many were the solemn Days of Fasting and Prayer during the continuance of that detestable
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Rebellion; the nature and horrid tendency of which cannot perhaps be better learnt, in few words, than from the royal Proclamation of king GEORGE II, when in council he appointed *A general Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the complete victory at Culloden*; and which well deserves to be often read and attended to*.

The words of the Text are part of a Psalm composed by *David* when he was in some great distress, as is clear from verse 13,—He commemorates God's former Deliverance of him, both when he killed *Goliath*, (as Bishop *Patrick* argues from the words in the Title,

B 2

MUTH-

* This we shall here insert at large, for the instruction of the rising generation.

“ By THE KING,

“ A Proclamation for a PUBLIC THANKSGIVING:

“ GEORGE R.

“ WE do most devoutly and thankfully acknowledge the goodness of Almighty
 “ God, who has afforded us his protection and assistance, and given success to our councils and
 “ arms, in suppressing the late unnatural *Rebellion*,
 “ raised within this kingdom by wicked and desperate men, supported by our enemies abroad,
 “ and formed to depose and murder us, subvert
 “ the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our kingdoms, and set on the throne thereof a *Popish*
 “ Pretender, bred up and instructed in *Romish* superstition, and arbitrary principles; whereby
 “ we and our kingdoms are delivered from the calamities of an intestine war, and the public
 “ peace is restored: And therefore, duly consider

MUTH-CABBEN*,) and had gained victories over the *Philistines* and other enemies of *Israel*, and had been saved from the hands of *Saul*. Being in fresh trouble from those who hated him, he calls to mind God's former favours, and mixes together Praises and Prayers.

The Analysis of the whole Psalm we shall take from the pious Mr. *Henry*. (1) *David* praiseth God for pleading his cause, and giving him victory over his enemies and the enemies of his country, verses 1—6, and calls upon others to join with him in his songs of praise, verses 11, 12. (2) He prays to God, that he might have further occasion to praise him

“ ing that such great and public blessings call for
 “ solemn and public acknowledgments, we have
 “ thought it fit, by the advice of our privy council
 “ to issue this our Proclamation, hereby appoint-
 “ ing and commanding, That a General Thankf-
 “ giving to Almighty God for these his mercies
 “ be observed throughout *England*, the dominion
 “ of *Wales*, and town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, on
 “ Tuesday the ninth day of *October* next: And
 “ for the better and more orderly solemnizing the
 “ same, we have given direction to the most Re-
 “ verend the Archbishops, &c. And we do strict-
 “ ly charge and command, That the said public
 “ Day of *Thanksgiving* be religiously observed by
 “ all our loving subjects, as they tender the fa-
 “ vour of Almighty God,—&c.

“ GOD SAVE THE KING.

“ August 22d. 1746.”

* על-מות לבן, *yal muth Labben*, super mortem *Labben*, vel ejus qui in medio, nempe *Goliathi*, qui vir medietatum sive intermedius dicitur, 1 Sam. xvii. 4, quod inter duas acies consisteret. V. Byth. Ly.

him for his deliverances, and the confusion of his enemies, verses 13, 14, 19, 20. (3) He triumphs in the full assurance he had of God's judging the World, verses 7, 8; protecting his oppressed people, verses 9, 10, 18; and bringing his and their implacable enemies to ruin, verses 15, 16, 17. It is observed, "that
 " this is very applicable to the kingdom of
 " the *Messiah*, the enemies of which have
 " been in part destroyed already, and shall
 " be yet more and more, till they be all
 " made his *Foot-stool*; which we are to assure
 " ourselves of, that God may have the glory,
 " and we may take the comfort."

David had wisely remarked how God had openly rebuked, and blasted wicked men, and made their sins to be read in their punishment, and he foretold their ruin both in this world and the world to come. Our text, with the verse preceding and the verse following expresseth this; *The Heathen are sunk down in the pit that they made, in the net which they hid, is their own foot taken. The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth: the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands. Higgaion, Selah. The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.*

The words we are to discourse upon may be thus paraphrased:—'When the measure of
 ' ungodly mens iniquities is filled, God often
 ' executes judgment upon them in such a way
 ' as to clothe them with shame, and get honour to himself, when they are intangled
 ' in their own devices; and contrary to all
 ' expectation, bring upon themselves that

‘ destruction which they had prepared for
 ‘ others.’ On this the Psalmist fixes an extraordinary note of attention, *Higgaion*; which may be thus understood,—— ‘ *It is a Truth to
 ‘ be carefully observed. and meditated on again,
 ‘ and again.*’——

We shall make three observations on the Text;

I. GOD is sometimes pleased to manifest himself as the righteous Judge, by remarkable punishments inflicted on wicked men in this life, in the wonderful course of his Providence,— *The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth.*

II. This important truth is illustrated, when the wicked are ruined by the very means which they used to ruin others;— *The wicked is snared in the work of his own hands.*

III. Such events of God’s Providence ought never to be forgotten, but religiously and frequently pondered over, — *HIGGAION, Selah.*

IV. The Application will consist of a narrative of the *Rise, Progress and Extinction* of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746,—an Extinction which, duly considered, should raise the hearts of all *British* Protestants in praise to God for so great Salvation.

I. GOD is sometimes pleased to manifest himself as the righteous Judge, by remarkable
 punish-

punishments inflicted on wicked men in this life, in the wonderful course of his Providence, *The Lord is known, &c.*

We are far from asserting, that divine Providence always appears to the confusion and ruin of wicked and evil-designing men. No; there is a most solemn day, the last day, *the great and terrible day of the Lord*, when he will judge the world in righteousness by his Son, the Lord Jesus, the judge of quick and dead: Therefore to *that* day's decision both the wicked and the righteous are referred.—*To the righteous and to the wicked, to the good and to the clean, and to the unclean, to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not, commonly all things come alike; there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked; as is the good so is the sinner, and he that sweareth, as he that feareth an oath, as the wise man expresseth it, Eccls. ix.*

2. From the general course of Providence, *man knoweth not love or hatred*, says Solomon in the former verse, but then he considered in his heart, at the same time, *that the righteous and the wise and their works are in the hand of God*; 'are under the care of God, (which must satisfy them in all events) by whose special Providence, both they and their undertakings and affairs, are approved, directed, governed and defended; yet (such a secret there is in it) they prove sometimes so unsuccessful, that no man can know by any thing that befalls him, or others, how God stands affected towards them; but will conclude very falsely, if he

‘ judges that God loves him who hath all
 ‘ that he desires ; or that he hates him who
 ‘ is sorely afflicted.’ Thus falsely *Job*’s three
 friends judged concerning him, that he was a
 wicked man, an hypocrite, because in Provi-
 dence he was so uncommonly afflicted.

But this general rule admits of exceptions :
 there are some, and not a few, examples of
 wicked men so signally punished in this life
 that the Lord is known, i. e. his hand is ma-
 nifested by the judgment which he executeth ;
 and the words Ps. lviii. 11. may be applied in
 the case, *So that a man shall say* (even the heed-
 less vulgar, and those men who give but lit-
 tle attention) *Verily there is a reward for the*
righteous, (when God’s vengeance has seized
 the wicked persecutors and enemies of his peo-
 ple, Verses 9 and 10.) *Verily he is a God that*
judgeth in the earth : or as in *Job xxxiv. 26.*
He striketh them as wicked men in the open sight of
others ; i. e. God, the righteous judge, pun-
 ishes them as men that in his eyes are appa-
 rently wicked ; and therefore makes them
 public examples for the terror of their neigh-
 bours. Thus the Most High gives most ma-
 nifest proof of his government over the chil-
 dren of men, and that he is a sin-avenging
 God.—That He *now* judgeth in the earth
 many instances prove ; and that he has a judg-
 ment *to come*, the far more numerous instances
 of wicked men, of the worst of characters, es-
 caping punishment here, powerfully demon-
 strate.

If

If God did never display his wrath against wicked men in this life, they might be more tempted to say with Infidels of old, Ezek. viii. 12. *For they say, the Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth.* Ezek. ix. 9. "Then said he unto me, the iniquity of the house of Israel and Judah is exceeding great, and the land is full of blood and the city full of perverseness, *For they say, the Lord hath forsaken the earth, and the Lord seeth not.*" Zephani. i. 12. "And it shall come to pass at that time, that I will search Jerusalem with candles, and punish the men that are settled on their lees; *that say in their heart, the Lord WILL NOT DO GOOD* [will not reward the righteous] *neither will he do evil* [will not inflict the evil of punishment on the wicked.]"

On the other hand, if rewards and punishments were universally dispensed in this life, and certain and constant distinction made between the righteous and the wicked so that all men must discern it, then the argument for a future judgment would be taken away. How strongly the apostle Paul enforces the faith of the day of judgment by this very consideration, that the most eminent saints for Faith and Patience under all their persecutions and tribulations, were yet exercised and called out to endure more, which, says he, is a *manifest token of the righteous judgment of God* (i. e. this dispensation of divine wisdom appointing you to suffer, and permitting others to persecute you,) THAT you may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God for which ye also suffer; as if he had said,

“ Your sufferings are an assurance of a day of judgment to come, when God will openly reward you, *seeing it is a righteous thing with God* (that God to whom belongeth recompense) *to recompense Tribulation to them that trouble you ; and to you who are troubled Rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty angels, (as he shall be at the last day, 1 Thess. iv. 16. when He will come to give every one according to his works, Matt. xvi. 27. Mark viii. 38. and gather all the nations of the world before Him, Matt. xxv. 32. Jude, 14, 15.) in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ : who shall be punished with everlasting destruction, &c. when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe”*——“ in THAT day§.”——

But though the Lord is not always known by the execution of justice on the notoriously wicked in this world, yet it may well be said, *he hath not left himself without witness.* Examine the Old Testament ; attend to the murderer Cain, who was so visited with divine correction that he said, “ *My punishment is greater than I can bear,*” Gen. iv. 13. Attend to the history of Pharoah, Exod. ix. 16. “ *That I might shew my power in thee, and that my name may be declared through all the earth ;*”
this

§ See Dr. *Whitby* on 2 Thess. i. 4, &c. where the reasoning of *Æstius* a popish writer, on these words is considered.

this observable passage St. Paul quotes in his epistle to the Romans, ch. ix. 17. *For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, even for this same purpose have I raised thee up* [i. e. says a learned expofitor, “ have made thee stand in the plague of boils, and prolonged thy life for some further time;” or as the learned Dr. Doddridge, “ For this cause have I raised thee up to that height of eminence in which thou gloriest, “ &c.” See Dr. Doddridge, with his note on the place,] *that I might shew my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.*

Thus the judgment executed by God on *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram**, when the Earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, their houses, and all their goods; and the judgment also, on the two hundred sinners against their own souls, (as the word of God denominates them) who were of *Corah's* company, and brought every man his censur, and were consumed by fire, which came out from the Lord; all this made the name of the Lord renowned, and these are on record to convince the minds of those who deny the Providence of God.—The time would fail me to give an account of all the striking examples in the Old Testament; the history of *Joseph's* brethren in *Egypt*, Gen. ch. xlii—44. of *Achan*, Josh. vii. and the wicked and bloody King *Ahab*, and

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* Numb. xvi. 28, seq. See also the History of *Eli's* Sons, *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, 1 Sam. chapters ii—iv.

Jezebel, 1 Kings xxi, &c. These should never be forgotten; nor should the instances recorded in the New Testament; of *Judas*, the traitor, his end, *Herod* the King, his end, Acts xii. 23. *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, Acts v. and *Elymas* the sorcerer, Acts xiii. 8—13. By the judgment executed on these, and such as these, *the Lord was known as God that judgeth in the Earth*. Thus also in the destruction of the seven nations, when the measure of their iniquities was filled up.—The overthrow of 185,000 men in the army of impious *Sennacherib*, in one night,—The captivity of the Jews, for seventy years, in *Babylon*; and, to add no more, carefully remark the exemplary judgment which came upon the Jewish nation as our Lord foretold, Matt. xxiv, and which the Jewish historian [*Josephus*] † has at large related. He asserts, “ that no other city ever
“ suffered such things; and that all the calamities, which have ever happened from
“ the

† To single out one instance,—Our Lord declared the city of *Jerusalem* should be invested with enemies, laid even with the ground, and not have one stone left upon another, Luke xix. 41, 42, 43, 44; *And when he was come near, he beheld the City, and wept over it, saying, &c.* Now we learn from that writer, “ When *Vespasian* besieged *Jerusalem*,
“ his army compassed the city round about, and
“ kept them in on every side; and though it was
“ judged a great, and almost impracticable work,
“ to compass the whole city with a wall, yet *Titus*
“ animating his soldiers to attempt it, they in three
“ days, built a wall of thirty-nine furlongs, having
“ thirteen castles in it. And (to cut off all hopes, that

“the beginning, seem not comparable to
 “those which befel the Jews; and that ele-
 “ven hundred thousand perished in that
 “siege.” *De bello Jud.* l. vii. ch. 45.

“By some eminent instances,” says Dr. *Mauton* on the text, “God shews himself to
 “be the Judge of the world, and keeps a
 “*Petty Sessions*, before the *Day* of the *general*
 “*Affizes*. Upon this account, the saints beg
 “the Lord to take off the veil from his pro-
 “vidences, and to appear in protecting and
 “delivering his children, and punishing their
 “adversaries, Psalm xciv. 1, 2. *Shew thy-*
 “*self, thou Judge of the earth.*”

II. This important truth is illustrated,
 when the wicked are ruined by the very means
 which they used to ruin others;—*The wicked is*
ensnared in the work of his own hands.

The foregoing verse sets this to view, un-
 der the figures of a *pit* digged for another, and
 a

“any of the Jews within the city should escape,)”
 “he adds,—“*Titus* having commanded his soldi-
 “ers to dig up the foundations both of the temple
 “and city; this was so fully done by levelling the
 “whole compass of it, except three towers, that
 “they who came to see it were persuaded it never
 “would be built again.” See *Josephus*. de Bello
Jud. l. vii. ch. 1. &c. and consult *Whitby's* Anno-
 tations on the xxivth chapter of Matt. and Luke
 xix. 43, 44. where the exact completion of the de-
 struction of the temple, &c. as foretold by Christ
 is confirmed from Historians.

a snare hid, and the very actors are the persons taken, ver. 15. *The heathen are sunk down in the pit that they made : in the net which they hid is their own foot taken.* See Psalm lvii. 6. *They have prepared a net for my steps—they have digged a pit before me, into the midst whereof they are fallen themselves.* SELAH. Where the Psalmist endeavouring to encourage religious men to put their trust in God, and not fret because of wicked men who prosper for a time in their evil way, useth this argument, Psalm xxxvii. 12—16, *The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth : The Lord shall laugh at him, for he seeth that his day is coming. The wicked have drawn out the sword, and bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of upright conversation : Their sword shall enter into their own heart [some apply it to Saul, when he fell upon his own sword,] and their bows shall be broken.*

In another Psalm, after prayer offered up to God for deliverance from treacherous enemies, who *privily laid snares*, searched out iniquity, and accomplished a diligent search; *whetting their tongues like a sword, and bending their bows to shoot their arrows, even bitter words,* he promiseth himself, through Faith in God, that he shall see evident destruction brought on those wicked men, such as shall make righteous men rejoice thereat, Psalm lxiv. 7, &c. *But God shall shoot at them with an arrow : Suddenly they shall be wounded. So they shall make their own tongues to fall upon themselves : all that see them shall flee away ; and all men shall fear and shall*

shall declare the work of God ; for they shall wisely consider of his doing, and so they shall know and honour his name, by the judgment which he executes. The righteous shall be glad in the Lord, and shall trust in him ; and all the upright in heart shall glory.

Thus we have seen God's word deciphers wicked men as drawing out the sword, but having it enter into *their own* hearts ; bending the bow, and having it broken in *their own* hands ; digging pits, and falling into the same ; laying nets and snares, and their own feet taken in the same : and all this so ordered by God's Providence, that he is owned and honoured as bringing it to pass : Thus, as our text expresses it, *the wicked is ensnared in the work of his own hand!*—Hath he travailed with iniquity, and conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood ? Hath he made a pit and digged it ? And doth he always succeed in these courses ? Not so : The Lord is known, most resplendently known, often times, in causing those very means used by the designing sinner against the righteous, to bring about a most remarkable destruction upon himself, by his falling into the very ditch which he made for another ; so that his mischief recoils upon his own head, and his violent dealings come down upon his own pate ; whereupon the religious observer is constrained to say, *I will praise the Lord according to his righteousness, [i.e. his just judgment, and his faithfulness to his word] and will sing praise to the name of the Lord most high ;* “ With the greatest delight and “ joy shall my songs celebrate the glorious majesty

“ majesty of the Lord, which far surmounts
 “ our highest thoughts, and thanksgiv-
 “ ings.”

As an historical illustration of this head of discourse, we may recite the signal judgements executed on *Adonibezek*, *Haman*, and the enemies of *Daniel*, the beloved of God.

Let us then attend to the *Pagan* king's reflections, as recorded Judges i. 7. And *Adonibezek* said, “ *Threescore and ten kings having their thumbs and great toes cut off gathered their meat under my table: as I have done, so God hath requited me.*” The tribe of *Judah* had fought with that cruel tyrant at *Bezek*, and overcame his army, and when he fled, they pursued and took him, and cut off his thumbs and great toes. This retaliation made him see clearly the judgment which God executed on him, which, he could not but own, was a just requital.

Haman the great favourite of king *Abasuerus*, in hatred to *Mordecai*, fought revenge upon all the Jews, Esther iii. and expecting that the king would grant him leave to hang *Mordecai*, he provided a gallows to be made to that end, of the height of fifty cubits; but God in his adorable Providence so overruled the scheme, that the king ordered *Haman* to be hanged thereon, Esther vii. 9, 10. “ And *Harbonah*, one of the chamberlains, “ said before the king, Behold also the gallows fifty cubits high, which *Haman* hath “ made

“ made for *Mordecai*, who had spoken good
 “ for the king, standeth in the house of *Ha-*
 “ *man*. Then the king said, *Hang him there-*
 “ *on*. So they hanged *Haman* on the gallows
 “ that he had prepared for *Mordecai*.” Thus
 was the wicked snared in the work of his own
 hand, and thus the Lord was known by the
 judgment which he executed, and which he
 brought to pass in a very wonderful way.—

Ahasuerus could not sleep on the night be-
 fore *Haman* was about to ask leave to hang
Mordecai. As he could not sleep, he com-
 manded the Book of the records of the Chro-
 nicles to be brought, and they were read be-
 fore the king; by which means he learned the
 good service *Mordecai* had done him, in dis-
 covering a conspiracy against his life. He
 then enquired what honour and dignity had
 been done to *Mordecai* for this; and finding
 there had been none conferred upon him, *Ha-*
man at this instant appearing before the king
 to request that *Mordecai* might be hanged, the
 king asks him, “ *What shall be done to the man*
 “ *whom the king delighteth to honour?*” He in
 his heart thinking the man must be *himself*,
 counsels that the highest honour be put upon
 him, that he be dressed in the apparel which
 the king used to wear, that he ride on the horse
 that the king used to ride on, and that the crown-
 royal should be set upon his head, and being thus
 arrayed, one of the king’s most noble princes
 should bring him through the streets of the ci-
 ty, and proclaim before him, *Thus shall it be done*

to the man, whom the king delighteth to honour. Then *Ahasuerus* commanded *Haman*, saying, "Make haste, take the apparel, &c. and do even so to *Mordecai*; let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken." * Thus did God abase that most proud mortal; and he returned, after he had performed the mortifying work assigned him, hasting to his house, where stood the gallows he had prepared, mourning, and having his head covered (as a token of his shame and confusion) and perhaps, in an hour after, he himself was hanged thereon.—

Is not the hand of the most high and holy, the most wise and righteous God illustriously seen in all this, and is not HIS name to be exalted?

No less remarkable was the judgment executed on the wicked enemies of *Daniel*: † So *Daniel* was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he believed in his God. And the king commanded, and they brought those men, who had accused *Daniel*, and they cast them into the den of lions, &c. and the lions had the mastery over them, and brake all their bones, or ever they came at the bottom of the den." Hereupon *Darius* magnified the God of *Daniel* among the nations, by a decree which he passed, "I make a decree, that in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble, and fear before the God of *Daniel*: For he is the living GOD, and steadfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be

* *Esther* vi.

† *Daniel*. vi.

be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even to the end. He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions."

In such events it may be truly said, that God's judgments are as the light that shineth clearly, as the meridian brightness; as the Prophet *Hosea* speaks, † *And thy judgments are as the light which goeth forth!*—And, *Who is wise; he shall understand these things: prudent, and he shall know them?* For the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them‡, [go on in them, upright, safe and secure, *inoffenso pede*, they shall find nothing therein to offend them *Psalms* cxix. 165. they shall find therein no stumbling blocks; all things will appear to them as just and right in themselves, so as to be for good to them. Nor is this all:—They shall continue to walk in them till they come to an happy end, which shall fully recompense all the difficulties which they have met with in those ways, a plentiful reward for their perseverance] *but the transgressors shall fall therein; or, but the wicked shall be weak and faint therein, ["take occasion from thence to fall into sin, and consequently into destruction."]]*

In

† *Hosea* vi. 5. * *Hosea* xiv. 9.

¶ On this Passage the *Commentary* of Dr. *Pococke* is very instructive: "These words were at that time by the Prophet spoken to Israel, but certainly do not less concern us,—more peculiarly giving directions for our behaviour and walking in Christ;—they now belong to Christians—and call upon them, That as they have received the Lord Jesus Christ, so they would walk in him, *Col.*

In such an honourable manner does the Most High often save the upright who warp not from the rule of duty, and the scripture is fulfilled, Prov. xxviii. 6—18. *Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that is perverse in his ways, though he be rich.—Who so walketh uprightly, shall be saved; but he that is perverse in his ways shall fall at once.*

We now proceed to consider the third Observation on the words,

III. Such events of God's providence ought never to be forgot, but religiously and frequently pondered over from time to time, **HIGGAION**||, Selah.—The word *Higgaion* signifies

“ ii. 6. What are they therefore but an earnest;
 “ pathetic exhortation to us still, That we would
 “ labour to be so wise and prudent, as to know and
 “ understand the right ways of God, in Christ, the
 “ Way, the Truth, and the Life, made known to us,
 “ and associate ourselves with the just who walk in
 “ them; and not to be amongst those careless, se-
 “ cure sinners, who, giving themselves up to be
 “ drawn away by the corrupt lusts of their own
 “ evil hearts, either start from them, or faint or
 “ fall in them—men of corrupt minds, who turn
 “ from the truth—who are lovers of pleasure
 “ more than lovers of God—therefore it will the
 “ more concern us to ask of God, as Cyril speaks,
 “ That we may be able to do what we ought, and
 “ so as we ought.”

See *Pococke* on Hosea, ch. xiv. 9.

|| סלה, *Higgaion*, Selah, Targ. Cantabunt isti in æternum. *Hieron.* Meditatio semper—Locutio, vel meditatio, *Sela!* q. d. Hoc quod diximus, requirit meditationem intentam, memori mente recolendam; et *Selah*, vocis et animi ad Deum elevationem. V. Byth. Ly.

nifies *consideration, meditation, or study*; a matter to be meditated on, or worthy of meditation. The learned *Dutch* annotations on the place observe, “ The Prophet seemeth to imply, that such judgments of God as he had been relating, ought to be considered and pondered, with singular attention.”—“ O matter, worthy of perpetual and profound meditation of the faithful! viz. That the wicked perish by their own counsel; and that God does not desert HIS to the end, but brings them help seasonably!” *Pool’s Synops. Crit.*

Thus then we may understand the word as importing what we read, *Isaiah xlv. 8. Remember this, and shew yourselves men [not brutishly inattentive] Bring it again to mind, O ye transgressors.*—

To induce you often to consider such works in a careful and religious manner; that God may be glorified and we strengthened in dependence upon him in the way of duty, attend to the following reasons,—1. Because it is the will of God that men should lay to heart his doings. *Moses* the man of God bound it on the *Israelites* to keep in mind God’s wondrous works which they had *known*, and to make their children *well acquainted* with the same; *Deut. iv. 9.* “ Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thine heart all the days of thy life; but teach them them thy sons, and thy sons sons.”

2. It is for the honour of God, that his mighty works of terror against his enemies, [his judgment executed on,] and his gracious de-

deliverances granted to his people, should be frequently meditated on. It is the way to raise adoring thoughts of his Omnipotence, his consummate wisdom, his supreme dominion over all things; his love of righteousness, his abhorrence of wickedness, that he is the Judge of all the earth, and that *he will do right*, Gen xviii. 25. *Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?*

3. It is a special help of religious faith, fear, hope, trust, and patient waiting; it tends to warn, comfort, edify, and establish in piety and virtue. In a word, it is greatly for our instruction and benefit (in the sacred exercises of communion with God) to us and ours, to the church, and the world. *Moses* thought it needful to awaken the regards of the people of *Israel* to their duty, by calling on them to remember the judgment which God executed on *Miriam*, Deut. xxiv. 9. *Remember what the Lord thy God did to Miriam, by the way, after they were come out of Egypt.* She was *Moses's* own sister, yet her public sin was visited with open punishment, the leprosy. To this end many *Psalms* record the judgments of God, Psalm lxxviii, lxxxix, cvi, &c.

4. Let us add one reason more to quicken us to the duty of recollecting the wonders of God's providential dealings:—If we do not give glory to God hereby, we must expect destruction in the end.

We must have our standing then among the neglecters of God, if not the despisers of him, and

and his government. How express are the awful threatnings against such! Pf. xxviii. 5. *Because they regard not the works of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands, he shall destroy them, and not build them up.* Isaiah v. 12, 13, 14. *And the harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe, and wine are in their feasts, but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands. Therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge, &c. Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure; and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth shall descend into it.*

How divinely *Elihu* argues with *Job* to vindicate God's ways towards men, *Job* xxxiv. *For his eyes are upon the ways of man, and he seeth all his goings. There is no darkness nor shadow of death where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves, &c. He striketh them as wicked men (verse 26. 27) in the open sight of others: BECAUSE they turned back from (after) him, and would not CONSIDER any of his ways.*

That we may escape this guilt and punishment, let us religiously call to mind and ponder over again and again God's signal Deliverances granted to his people by the judgement which he executed on their *Enemies*, when they have been *snared* in the work of their own hands, and their drawn sword has entered into their own heart, when in the net which they had hid, their own foot has been taken.—And this naturally brings me in the last place,

IV. To give a Narrative of the *rise, progress and extinction* of the *Rebellion* in 1745 and 1746: or, To make an application of the subject by leading your thoughts through various steps of Providence unto the overthrow of the wicked Rebellion in this kingdom, April 16, 1746. “ So total a defeat—a victory so complete,—over such enemies;—which cost them so much, and us so little, comparatively with what might have been feared from their boasted resolution and desperate circumstance, demands our warmest gratitude, and our most sincere and affectionate Thanksgiving†.”

To assist you, and your children after you in judging more clearly of this matter, that God in Christ may be glorified, I shall lay together, in as succinct a manner as I can, what may be called, A Journal of the *Rebellion*, from its rise to its extirmination. And, as the celebration of one deliverance should bring others also to mind, we shall adjoin, A summary account of some of the most eminent which God has granted us in this land within two hundred years past; “ that the generation to come may know, even the children which shall be born; who should arise and declare them to their children: That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of his hands, but keep his commandments.†

We

† See the Rev. Mr. John Barker's Thanksgiving Sermon on the occasion, p. 28, 29.

† It is with pleasure I here transcribe the *Form*

We may introduce the account by observing that the *French* had designed an invasion in favour of the *Pretender*, in the year 1743, which was a secret not known in England, and therefore not provided against; but our gracious God, *whose eyes behold the nations*, (and therefore let not the *rebellious* exalt themselves, Pl. 66. 7.) and *who ruleth by his power forever*, caused his winds to blow upon their fleet and destroyed their design; else they might have come upon us, and found us unprepared, unalarmed, and unarmed.—This ought to be most thankfully remembered: and yet, alas, it was scarcely noted at the time, and now perhaps is known by few!

C

After

of thanksgiving used through England, Oct. 9. 1746.

“ Most gracious Lord, we humbly present unto
 “ thee the just tribute of our unfeigned praise and
 “ thanksgiving, as for the many signal deliveran-
 “ ces through a succession of ages vouchsafed to
 “ this church and nation, from the wicked abettors
 “ of *popish* tyranny and superstition; so for the
 “ great salvation lately wrought for us by the com-
 “ plet and seasonable overthrow of the same cruel
 “ and-blood thirsty enemies. Blessed be thou, O
 “ Lord, who hast not for our manifold offences
 “ delivered us up as a prey unto them. Implant
 “ in our hearts, we beseech thee, such a deep and
 “ lively sense of thy repeated mercies as may pro-
 “ duce in us the lasting fruits of sincere repent-
 “ ance; that thou mayest delight evermore to
 “ continue to us thy protection, and to make us
 “ the happy instruments of conveying to future
 “ generations those inestimable blessings which thy
 “ good providence hath now graciously confirmed
 “ to us: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After this disappointment, the scheme (supported by *France*, *Spain*, and *Rome*) was delayed to be put in execution till *July*, 1745: when *Charles*, the Pretender's eldest son, landed in *Scotland*. He came (according to *Ray's* history) in a Frigate carrying eighteen guns, which had been joined off *Belleisle* by the *Elizabeth*, a Man-of-war of sixty guns, taken from us by the *French* in the last war, and now extremely well manned for this purpose. In their passage they fell in with a fleet of *English* Merchant-men, under the convoy of three Men-of-war; one of which, viz. the *Lion*, Captain *Brett*, engaged the *Elizabeth*, for nine hours; but soon after the engagement began, the Frigate bore away, and continued her intended voyage. The *Elizabeth* when night came on, made all the sail she could to get clear, and returned to *Brest* quite disabled; her captain and sixty-four men killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded. She had on board, a large sum of money, and arms for several thousand men, which were to have been landed with the Pretender's son, for the use of his adherents. The Frigate stood in for the coast of *Lochabar*, and anchored between the Isles of *Skie* and *Mull*, and there *Charles* and his attendants landed, and remained in private, for some time, until he was joined by the *Camerons*, *Mac Donalds*, *Stuarts*, and some other Clans, in number about 150; then he set up his standard on the 16th of August, with this self-confident motto, "TANDEM TRIUMPHANS*, *At length triumphant*;"

or

§ See *Ray's* compleat history of the Rebellion, p. 18, and p. 46, "The Pretender demanded of

or (as the *Edinburgh Hift.*) “The Camerons
 “set up his standard with this motto in *Latin*,
 “*The good cause at last triumphing.*”—But let us
 observe the issue of the Rebellion, and see the
 scripture fulfilled, Job xx. 5. *The triumphing*
of the wicked is short.

At the time of *Charles's* landing, our Sovereign King GEORGE II. was deeply engaged in war, and his son the Duke of *Cumberland* with the British forces, were fighting against the *French* in *Flanders*, and not till *August* did King GEORGE come over.

August 20. The Rebel forces were about 2000, near *Fort William*, and such was the progress they made, that

Sep. 4th, The Pretender was proclaimed king, at *Perth*, in Scotland.

Sep. 17. *Charles* gained the city of *Edinburgh*, and entered it.

Sep. 20. He obtained a victory against our king's army, under the command of general *Cope* (the king's army about 2800, the rebel, about 5000, according to *Ray*) at *Preston-Pans*, where fell the pious and gallant Colonel *Gardiner*, whose regiment having fled the field (the young horses being affrighted) he valiantly put himself at the head of the Foot, which stood their ground; and fought till he was brought down by three wounds, one in his shoulder, by a ball, another in his forehead, by a broad sword, and the third, which

C 2

was

the city of *Edinburgh* 6000 pair of shoes, 2000 targets and 1000 tents—to be paid when the troubles were over.”

was the mortal stroke, in the hinder part of his head, by a *Lochabar Ax*§.

The nation began now to be greatly alarmed, there being few soldiers in the kingdom; the nobility, gentry and others entered into voluntary subscriptions to advance money to raise horse and foot: the Archbishop of *York*'s speech to a large assembly at *York* was followed with subscriptions to the amount of £90,000: in this county of *Suffolk* the sum subscribed was £16,318 10s 8d. and the people in general animated one another in the common danger.—

To return: The rebels spent five or six weeks at *Edinburgh*, and made many fruitless attempts upon the Castle, which was gallantly defended by general *Guesf*. While they remained here, on

October 21. The D. of *Cumberland*, General *Wade*, and the Army, were brought over to *England*, having had a wonderful speedy passage, and safe almost to a miracle; considering the time of the year, such a passage was never known; and, it is observed that when the

§ See the concluding scene of the life of this renowned Officer, as related by Dr. *Doddridge*; *Life of Colonel Gardiner*, p. 191. The *Highlander* who gave the deadly blow, when the Colonel was fallen from his horse, was one *Mac-naught*, who was executed about a year after. On the fall of the christian hero, Colonel *Gardiner*, the *Munros*, &c. Dr. *Doddridge* observes, “ Providence no doubt
“ permitting it, to establish our faith in the rewards
“ of an invisible world, to teach us to cease from
“ man,” &c. *Isaiah* ii. 22.

the war with *France* ended in the year 1748 or 1749, the British troops in their return met with great loss, and had a very dangerous and slow passage.

November 8th. The Rebels entered *England*.

Nov. 10th, — Summoned the city of *Carlisle*.

November 15th, The city surrendered, and on the 16th the Pretender was proclaimed: on the 20th the Rebels to the number of 6700 took their rout to *Kendal*.

December 4th, They entered the town of *Derby* 98 computed miles from *London*——
 “ The consternation which seized the generality in *London*,” says a good writer, “ when this *Banditti* were at *Muncheſter* and *Derby*, will not be forgotten by this generation. What paleness sat on our faces, and what trembling took hold on our hearts! A variety of thoughts started into our minds, every one of which increased our terror. It was imagined that then was the time for the *French* to invade some distant part of the Island, to call off our forces from their pursuit, and besides that, there might be insurrections, &c. and the Rebels might be joined as they marched by *Papists*.”——“ This awful crisis I would now desire you seriously to recollect, that it may inspire your hearts with lasting gratitude and lively joy, when you review the conduct of Providence in our favour†.”——

December 6th. The Duke of *Cumberland* drawing near the Rebels, they began to march back with great precipitation, the Duke most closely following them : and on

December 18th. His light horse came within sight of their rear guard, whereupon followed the engagement of *Clifton-Moor*, which was sharp, and dangerous ; in which the King's men laboured under great disadvantages, yet divine Providence gave them success, and in about an hour the Rebels quitted the field. The king's troops continued under arms all night (which was very rainy) ; the Rebels main body at *Penrith* hastened for *Carlisle* (sixteen miles distant), which they entered.

December 19th ; and on the same day the Duke entered *Penrith*, which in a kind Providence was the means of preserving that town from the resentment of the rebels, who intended revenge on the inhabitants, for the opposition they had there met with.

December 21. The rebels left *Carlisle* garrisoned, (the *Manchester* regiment was inured there in the works of their own hands) and crossed the river *Esk*, though very deep ; but they chose to venture drowning (which was the fate of some) rather than to stay to give the Duke battle*. Thus they escaped into Scotland, from whence they came.

December 25. The main body of the rebels marched into *Glasgow*, where they continued several days, to the sorrow of the inhabitants of that city who had shewn the greatest loyalty to government, and became thereby

ex-

* *Ray's History*, p. 199, 200.

exposed to bad treatment. The rebels found themselves in a very rich city, abounding in whatever they wanted ; and therefore they considered it as a magazine, and began to furnish themselves with broad-cloth, tartan, shoes, stockings, and bonnets, to the amount of £10,000 sterling ; so that by this means the rebel army was in a manner new-clothed, which proved a great means of keeping them together ; otherwise, it is to be supposed, many of them would have deserted.

December 30. Carlisle, with the garrison surrendered to the Duke of *Cumberland*.

January 4. 1746. General *Husk* arrived at *Edinburgh*.

—5. His royal highness the Duke of *Cumberland* returned to his royal father, leaving General *Husk* to finish the war.

—13. General *Husk* marched for the relief of *Stirling Castle* with eight regiments.

—18. The engagement was at *Falkirk*, in which, such were events, that the *Jacobites* had a handle to vaunt as if the rebels had got the victory.

—25. The Duke of *Cumberland* set out for *Scotland*.

—30. His royal Highness arrived at *Holy-Rood-house, Edinburgh*, at three in the morning ; a journey amazingly expeditious, considering the rigour of the season.

—31. The rebels moved off from before *Stirling Castle*.

February 2. The Duke entered *Stirling* (thirty miles N. W. of *Edinburgh*) pursuing the flying rebels.

—6. The main body of the royal army got to *Perth*, (this is counted the second town in *Scotland* for dignity) situate on the river *Tay*, thirty miles North of *Edinburgh*.

—8. *Hessian* soldiers to the number of five or six thousand, in the King of Great Britain's service, arrived at *Leith*.

—25. The *van* of the royal army arrived at *Aberdeen*, eighty-four miles N. E. of *Edinburgh*, at the mouth of the river *Dee*.

March. The rebels made themselves masters of Fort St. George at *Inverness*, and Fort *Augustus*; and laid siege to Fort *William*, from *March* 14 to the 3d of *April*, with 1,500 men, eight pieces of cannon, and seven mortars.

April 6. The rebels sustained great damage by the long expected *Hazard-Sloop* being taken by the royalists.

—11. The Duke marched to *Cullen*, having left *Aberdeen* *Apr.* 8. with six battalions of foot and Lord *Mark Kerr's* dragoons, to seek the rebels.

—12. He forded the river *Spey*, difficult for man or horse, having loose stones at the bottom, the water belly deep and very rapid, the ford not lying right across.—“We
“were (says the author of the compleat history) “obliged to go midway into the river,
“then

“ then turn to the right, and go down it for
 “ about sixty yards, and then turn to the left
 “ inclining upwards to the landing-place.”—
 In this situation had the rebels improved their
 advantage, it might have been with much
 loss to the royal army, as they might have
 defended this pass, a long while. “ Thus”
 (says the *Edinburgh* history) “ was one of
 the strongest passes in *Scotland* given up; a
 pass where 2000 might easily have kept back
 20,000 men.—A proof of the duke’s reputati-
 on! the rebels fled at the sound of his name.”

April 15. Lord *Cromarty* was surprized; he
 was made prisoner with his party of 400 men,
 as they were setting out to revenge the cap-
 ture of the *Hazard Sloop* on Lord *Ray* and his
 country. (*own Hist.* p. 34, sq.)

This was the birth-day of his Royal High-
 ness the Duke of *Cumberland*, and the rebels
 designed to have attacked his camp in the
 night, supposing his army would have drank
 freely in the day; but the Duke had prohibi-
 ted this, and the enemy approaching in the
 night, found the Picquets alarmed, and their
 scheme was defeated.†

C 5

April

† “ The *Chevalier* finding at *Inverness* his troops
 in high spirits, improved this ardour, and proposed
 to march forward about 9 at night, *April 15th*,
 and attack the *Duke’s* army in the dark; “ for,”
 said he, “ they will be drowned in sleep, the effect
 “ of this day’s rejoicing, as it is the birth-day of
 “ the Usurper’s son.” This scheme was approved
 by *Sullivan* and *Sheridan* (his two *Irish* favourites)
 but rendered abortive by a small circumstance, the
 neighing of one of their horses, in a manner not to

April. 16. Both armies being ranged in order of battle, the royalists about 8500, the rebels 9000, entered on the engagement about two o'clock in the afternoon. The Duke gave orders to advance, saying, "*I will not dine 'till my work is done,*" by this insinuating, (says the author of the *history of the Rebellion printed at Edinburgh*) that taking that repast at *Falkirk*, and not proceeding directly was the occasion of their disaster there." He rode along the lines, and being come to the center addressed himself in an heroic manner to his troops; the soldiers joyfully repeating their declarations of standing by him. His Royal Highness had carefully instructed his soldiers to push their bayonets over the right arm, against the right breast of their antagonists, which was practised with great success. The cannon of the royalists did great execution on the rebels; and in a word, they were soon put to a total rout. The *Pretender's* son, the *Chevalier*, in the rear of his troops observing the flight

he stopped, when they were come so near the *Duke's* camp, about two o'clock in the morning, as to hear the centries calling to and answering one another, "Is all well?"—"Yes all's well,"—they began to dread their design was discovered, and a damp appeared among them; and calling a council of war, the chiefs were in general against advancing, though the *Chevalier* and his two favourites were for it. This disappointment provoked the *Chevalier* extremely, and with a profane curse he was heard to say—"Are my orders still disobeyed?"—He then gave orders to march back to the field of battle, &c.

See *The Young Chevalier*, &c. p. 3. &c.

flight of his men, did all he could to rally them but in vain, uttering words to this purpose†; “ Rally, in the name of God ! Pray Gentle-
“ men return ! Pray stay with me your
“ prince but a moment, otherwise you ruin
“ me, your country, and yourselves, and God
“ forgive you ! ”—They were deaf to his en-
treaties : [Some who understood the English
tongue cried out, “ *Prince !* Oh ! an ! Oh !
an ! ” a sign of mourning, and a Scottish par-
ticle expressive of the greatest grief ; “ Oh
that he had never been born ! O fatal day !
&c.”] He now apprehending all was lost,
and that his attempts on the *British* throne
were totally defeated, spurred his horse, gal-
loped away full speed‡, and made directly to
the waters of *Nairn*, which he crost, and so
escaped the dragoons and *Kingston’s* light
horse, who would perhaps else have been at
his heels.

It is difficult, from the various accounts, to
settle with unquestionable certainty the num-
bers slain on each side ; but on the Royalists
part comparatively few, on the rebels a great
and dreadful slaughter, with the loss of all
their artillery, colours, and in short, their
whole baggage, together with all their once
flattering hope.

C 6

His

† The *Young Chevalier*, &c. p. 7, 8.

‡ His wig and bonnet flew off, the latter was
lost, the former he recovered as it was falling from
the pommel of his saddle.

His royal highness the *Duke*, was sometimes in danger of his life * by desperadoes who were taken up in women's cloaths with arms concealed about them ; in particular *John Roy Stuart*, bound himself with an oath, that he would bring the *Duke's* head to the *Chevalier*. For this purpose he got a soft skin, upon which he sewed an artificial beard, put on the habit of a countryman, and went into *Aberdeen*, driving a horse with forage for the dragoons ; but by the watchful eye of divine Providence the assassin was discovered, and that, with all the other plots against the life of the *Duke* frustrated. Its observable that *John Roy Stuart* was most active in the various scenes of the Rebellion. “ On the *Chevalier's* landing “ in *Ardnamurchan*, *Roy Stuart* (says an author “ before quoted) repaired to welcome him, “ and had a Colonel's commission for his “ pains ;—his sword was generally broke at “ every battle, and the streaming gore denounced the share he had in the action of “ the day.”

To conclude : We call upon you all, to consider these things, and to give glory to GOD and the REDEEMER, the Great IMMANUEL, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, on whose head are many crowns ; who is called Faithful and True ; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war, having on his vesture and his thigh, a name written, KING
OF

* See the *Edinburgh History*, p. 105, and *The Young Chevalier*, p. 37.

OF KINGS, and LORD OF LORDS, Rev. xix. 11—17. Therefore not only *Sing the song of the faithful, for the mercies of GOD, Isaiah xii. 1. &c.* O LORD, I will praise thee, tho' thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, &c. but obey the command, Ps. ii. 10, to the end. *Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kifs the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way; when his wrath is kindled but a little; blessed are all they that put their TRUST in HIM.*

THE END OF THE SERMON.

AP-

✚ It is much to be wished, that the *Catechumens*, who have been wont for many years on the Anniversary of *this day*, and on Nov. 5th, to repeat publicly Psalm cxxiv, *If it had not been the LORD who was on our side, NOW may ISRAEL say: If it had not been, &c.* may never forget that sacred portion of holy writ.—The excellent Dr. *Watts* gave that Psalm the title of “*A Song for the 5th of November,*” and we may justly add, “*A Song for April the 16th.*”

“ Had not the Lord, may *Israel* say,
 “ Had not the Lord maintain'd our side,
 “ When men to make our lives a prey,
 “ Rose like the swelling of the tide;
 “ The swelling tide had stopt our breath,
 “ So fiercely did the waters roll,
 “ We had been swallow'd deep in death;
 “ Proud waters had o'erwhelm'd our Soul.” &c.



A P P E N D I X,

P A R T I.

Containing a Narrative of the PRETENDER'S
Son's five months wanderings in Scotland,
from April 16, till September 17, 1746.

THE total defeat of the *Chevalier* at *Culloden*, *April 16*, was compleated in about two hours: for, about four o'clock in the afternoon, after taking a glass of spirits upon the field, the *Duke's* army advanced towards *Inverness*, huzzaing as they marched; though when they came there, they seemed much concerned for the miserable people whose carcases were strewed before them. For the space of five months after this, (from *April 16*, until *Sep. 17*.) the *Pretender's* Son was wandering about the Isles and Highlands of *Scotland*, continually pursued: "the most tormenting fears inseparably haunted him night and day; every thing was perpetually giving him the alarm,

In

“ In ev’ry whistling wind, the Victor heard,
 “ And WILLIAM’s form—in ev’ry shadow
 “ fear’d,

“ Several who accompanied him in his wanderings have expressed their astonishment at the fright he expressed upon all occasions.*”

April 17. The *Chevalier*, as advised by his friends, hastened to consult Lord *Lovat*, who lodged at the house of Mr. *Frazer* of *Gortlick* in *Stratherie*. He set out for that place about Six o’clock at night, with 20 horsemen, having directed 200 more to be at the same place by the dawn of the next morning. About Nine he arrived there himself, but instead of finding comfort from his aged trustee, his ears were wounded, upon his entering the door, with the loudest and most bitter complaints; “ Chop off my head ! Chop off my head !” the old lord cried out to the unhappy fugitive,—“ My own family with all the clans are undone ! and the whole blame will fall upon me. Oh ! is there no friend here to put an end to my life and misery ?” Nor could he be prevailed on to hear or deliberate upon any proposal for mending the state of affairs.

The next day, the *Ch—r* having eat a wing of a fowl drest for him the night before, put the remainder in his pocket, and then dismissed all his attendants with a short speech at parting, which, after condoling them on their misfortunes and his own, he concluded in

* The Young *Chevalier*, &c. p. 23.

in words to this effect :—" Now, gentlemen, " consult your own safety ; for I can no longer advance you any pay."—(Here he was ready to burst into tears)—" If you and I " escape, I shall be sure to use my utmost endeavours abroad to procure you a subsistence, suitable to your merit, in the foreign " armies."

He was left with about seven officers and two servants, with his two favourites *O'Sullivan* and *Sherridan*. After consultation with these, it was agreed to set forward (as distant from the King's troops as they could) to the Castle of *Glengary*, where they arrived about Ten o'clock in the morning at Mr. *McDonald's*, whose clan, as well as himself, had been in the interest of the *Ch—r*, and whose second son was killed after the battle of *Falkirk*.

April 20, Some of the chiefs in quest of the *Ch—r*, arrived at *Glengary*, and there found him : where, hearing daily accounts of the surrender of his troops, with the mortifying news that numbers were found dead of their wounds, upon the hills and among the vallies, he was almost overwhelmed in despair, and perhaps had gone near to distraction, had not *Perth* and the other noblemen relieved his spirits, and proposed a hunting match, saying, " by this means we may better escape the " search of the troops, if advancing towards " us." This advice was followed, and so they continued, till

April 23. When certain intelligence was brought of the march of Gen. *Campbell* with a great number of the *Argyleshire* Militia from
Inverness.

Inverness. No sooner was this news confirmed, than the *Ch—r* with the chiefs then with him, the two *Irish* favourites, and about 40 men, set out for *Achnacarrie*, where *Lochiel* was with his brother, Doctor *Cameron*, whose patient he then was for the cure of his wounds. The *Ch—r* was for instantly departing, but being strongly dissuaded he sat down to a handsome dinner which the Doctor had provided.—In this place he passed his first cool moments after his late disaster. Now he advised with his friends : Some were for fighting the *Campbells* as they advanced, but others more coolly withstood the proposal.

Soon after, he left this place, and in four hours arrived upon the Green of *Keppock* with his whole retinue, and put up in *Keppock's* house, sensibly touched with the change of his fortune.—Here he had the further misfortune of hearing the cries and groans of a disconsolate widow and six fatherless children ; and *Keppock's* clan, which had suffered greatly in the engagement, were but just returned from the funeral of their beloved master, who died of the wounds he had received in the field of *Culloden*.—The cries and groans of his household, the mournful sighs of his clan, and the dreadful apprehension of the calamities which afterwards befel them from the *Regular* forces and the *Militia*, so overcame the whole of the *Chevalier's* retinue, that they were all melted into tears. Eager of revenge, they were now employed in concerting what rout it was best to take for the future ; and at last agreed, “ that *Lochiel*, with the *Camerons* and
M^r.

M'Donalds should keep in a body, and favour any landings from *France*; while the *Chevalier* and his favourites with some others, were to traverse the *Isles*, and endeavour to raise such a force as with the succours from abroad might make a stand.

They set out next morning to *Glenphillin*, where the *Camerons* at his first landing had set up his standard. Here they continued three days, and were plentifully supplied with every necessary: but as it is impossible to bear up under the lashes and tortures of anxiety, the *Cb—r* declared his uneasiness, and signified his desire to be gone; and accordingly set out for the *Isles*.

About the 2d or 3d of *May*, two French men of war, one of 34 guns, the other of 32, appeared off the western coast. These ships were met with by the *Greyhound* man-of-war, the *Baltimore*, and the *Terror* bomb-vessel, but found means to land in cash 40,000 *Lewis d'Ors*, notwithstanding the engagement; in which the *King's* ships suffered much in masts and rigging, and sheered off, and meeting the *Furnace* bomb, returned with a design to renew the attack; but in the mean time the enemy had sailed away, having landed all the money, ammunition, liquors and provisions; they carried off a considerable number of noblemen, gentlemen and officers, who were waiting to get to *France*. *Lochiel* and those with him instantly repaired to the shore on the French ships coming, and saw the engagement: but *Lochiel* chose not to embark. This was on the 4th of *May*.

May

May 13. Alexander M^c Donald of Glencho, with those of his people who were with him, surrendered to General *Campbell*; and before the 20th of *May* almost all the *Rebels* surrendered.

About this time, a very dangerous tumult arose in the *royal* army, while at *Inverness*, which took rise from an *English* officer, who reproached the *Scottish* nation; and the resentment spread so far that the *Scots* in the army, were called to draw up on one side, and the *English* on the other; and the *Scots* were about to attack the *English* camp: when the *Duke*, being timely informed of the dismal scene which was likely to be acted, rose up, ran in amongst them, and taking off his hat, demanded to know, "What was the matter?" Being informed, he ordered them, in the name of his royal Father, to desist from such rashness; declaring it should be death for either an *Englishman* to reflect upon a *Scotchman*, or for a *Scotchman* to reflect upon an *Englishman**, &c. and thus, under Providence, all was restored to harmony.

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* It may not be improper to observe, that there is nothing in the preceding discourse, or present narrative, insinuated with the least idea to impeach the people of *Scotland* in general of disloyalty to the illustrious house of *Hanover*. His royal highness the *Duke of Cumberland* was so well convinced of the loyalty of that body of people in general, that an historian asserts he declared, "The services they had done, ought never to be forgotten, while any branch of the King's family remained."

See *The Young Chevalier*, &c. p. 60.

The *Ch—r* heard of this affair, and with what facility his rival quelled the tumult; he was now at the head of *Knoidart*, and, by the council of *Sullivan*, immediately agreed to go in quest of a boat to carry them over to *Lewis*, where, by good fortune, they might find a vessel to transport them to *France*. They found none, but roamed up and down among the mountains for three days, and three nights. From the height of the hill they had the mortification to see vast droves of cattle going before parties to *Inverness* for the use of the King's troops.

About *May 28*, one of the *Ch—r*'s company, *O'Neal*, an officer, supposed to be a priest, was seized (he had gone beyond the bounds prescribed) by the *Campbell's*, and by him they learnt the motions and shiftings of the young *C—r*; whereas it began to be reported and was actually supposed that he had gone off with two *French Ships*.—At this time several vessels coming out of the sound of *Mull*, which the *Ch—r* and his company judged belonged to the *Campbell's*, he hastened to *South-Vist*, and on

May 29, landed there. They were received by the *Lady Clanranald* and entertained in the most hospitable manner; and here abode some time: but on

June 28, He had advice that general *Campbell*, who had been informed of his last retreat, was approaching towards the Island through *North-Vist*. As he past he got intelligence of his abode, and was almost within two miles of

of *Benbicula* (a small island that is joined to *South-Vist*, where there is an ebb, but separated at full sea) before those of *Clanranald*'s house were apprized of it. When the news was brought to the *Ch—r* and his attendants, who were at first greatly surprized, “Come,” said *Sullivan*, there is no help for it; to yield to misfortune is not the way to get rid of her; let us rather immediately contrive our escape.”—“O let us hear then,” said the *Ch—r*, what you have to propose; “you know I always hear you with pleasure.”—*Sullivan* replied, “I think your highness and I should separate:—Put on women's apparel for the present, &c. as for me, if I get to *France* I shall represent the case at the court of *Versailles*.”—The *Ch—r* consented, and said, “Take my *Cloak-bag*, (all the baggage which he had) shew my pocket-book to my cousin the *K. of France* as a token of my distress, and I hope a vessel will soon be sent for me if you arrive safe in *France*, which pray God you may.” Then he and his company took leave, and soon met with a boat in which they sailed to *Ireland*, and from thence *incog.* to *France*, where *Sullivan* discharged the trust reposed in him.

July. Meantime the *Royalists* were approaching, the lady *Clanranald* now besought the *Ch—r* with tears in her eyes, to think of some method for escaping, if he did not approve of *Sullivan*'s; but his spirits almost failing, he knew not how to behave. Whereupon she said, “Here is a young gentlewoman, *Miss Flora M'Donald*, upon whom I will prevail
“ to

“ to take your Highness under her protection.” Upon this he was dressed in woman’s cloaths (except breeches and stockings, which he kept on) and was to pass for Miss *Flora’s* maid; a boat was provided, and they with a servant got into it, and continuing all night at sea, next morning arrived at the island of *Skie*, a little below Sir *Alexander MacDonald’s* house.—Miss *Flora* and her maid were received with great politeness, and pressed to stay all night, but Miss *Flora*, directed by the looks of her maid, absolutely refused. After a plentiful dinner, they set out for the Laird of *M’Kinnon’s* house, and here the *Ch—r* resumed the man’s dress again. Here they stayed all night, and Miss *M’Donald* returned home. The *Ch—r* continued the rest of the day with his host, and in the evening, taking a walk to the sea-side, met *Normand M’Leod*, an old Fisherman, perfectly acquainted with all the *Western* islands and all the creeks, &c. This man knew the *Ch—r*, who offered him a sum of money to carry him to *Raarfa*. This was agreed to, and safely executed. The proprietor of the island very hospitably entertained him, but next day being apprehensive of a visit, he advised his wandering guest to return to *Skie*. This advice the harrassed *Ch—r* found himself obliged to comply with, and still continued under the care of *M’Leod*, who thought proper to assume the name of *M’Kinnon*, the better to screen himself in case of a discovery. About five in the afternoon they set out for *Glenelge*, and arrived in about three hours upon the coast. Here the fisherman drew the boat to a creek, fenced on all sides, and there landed

landed his passenger. About nine at night they walked along the shore, for some time, in order to observe what was stirring in the country. Here they discovered that a company of Militia, judged to be the *Monroes*, were waiting in hopes the unhappy fugitive might fall into their hands. They had with them a blood-hound to trace him out: The dog was within a stone's throw of them, and the men not much further off, when *M'Kinnon* observed them, and particularly suspected the animal. Whereupon he advised the *Cb—r*, instantly to pull off all his cloaths and enter the water up to the neck. The affrighted *Cb—r* instantly did as he was directed, and *M'Kinnon* having hid his cloaths in the cleft of a rock began to amuse the dog's smell by fish, of which he had a number on a string in his hand. The artifice succeeded so well as effectually to secure the *Cb—r*; but the dog would not quit the fisherman until he was secured by the Militia-men, who kept him all night, and part of the next day, when after examining him to no purpose, they dismissed him. When he judged himself out of their reach, he turned into the road leading to the place where he supposed the *Chevalier* yet was. He found him there indeed, seeking out muscles, and other small shell-fish upon the craigs, breaking them between two stones, and eating the fish as he opened them, to satisfy the cravings of an appetite, never in all probability so keen before. He told *M'Kinnon* " that he continued in the water for several hours after he " left him, but at last ventured out, and put " on his cloaths, but durst not move from the " desert

“ desert spot, judging it too hazardous a venture.†

July 21. The *Ch—r* having after this resolved to put himself under *M’Kinnon’s* direction, he led him northward a few miles to the house of one *M’Kenzie*, who received the *Ch—r* very kindly; and thereupon he discharged *M’Kinnon*, on this condition, that at convenient intervals, while he moved about the country, following the employment of fishing, he should visit him, to see if he had any further occasion for his help. The *Ch—r* soon after this, hearing that Gen. *Campbell* was landed at *Apple-Cross* bay, thought fit to quit the place he was in, tho’ he might have remained in it very securely; but the anxieties of his mind grew upon him, so that he had hardly the resolution to continue in one place two nights together; but especially when he heard that the enemy were advancing, tho’ at a considerable distance.

He now took the road towards *Inverness*, and in the habit of a peasant went through *Strathglass*; travelling in the night through
Glengary

† The historian, who says he had the particulars of the above adventure from a person of undoubted veracity, adds, ‘ As soon as he set eyes on *Mac-Kinnon* (the fisherman) he fell down on his knees, and with uplifted hands thanked heaven for returning him his friend in the following words, as near as the fisherman could possibly remember,—
“ O God, I thank thee that I have not fallen into
“ the hands of my enemies; and surely thou hast
“ still something for me to do, since in this strange
“ place thou hast sent me back my guide.”

Glengary to *Badenoch*, where his faithful *Clunie M'Pherson* provided for his safety, and furnished him with every accommodation that could be procured in that forlorn state, not only of the *Wanderer*, but of all his Followers.

About this time several persons were seized by the *Campbells* and others, for harbouring, or affording assistance to him. *Lady Clanranald*, *Mr. M'Donald* of *Kingborough*, and *Miss Flora M'Donald* were taken into custody, and under confinement at *London*; and the elder *Glengary* was sent to the castle of *Edinburgh*.

These seizures being known, made persons who yet had a friendship for the *Ch—r*, backward to entertain him. One day, as he was complaining to *Clunie M'Pherson* of the danger of his situation, and expressing a desire of shifting his abode again, *Clunie* told him, that he had just heard of the Duke of *Cumberland's* being gone off for *England*, &c. "Wait (said he) here for some time longer, and my life for your's, you are safe."—But he was not to be prevailed on;—being terrified almost at the neighing of a horse, or the appearance but of a single man: he therefore moved his situation. A hill within ten miles of *Daalnacardick* and 17 from *Blair*, was judged a place of safety; to this he repaired: but still the most tormenting fears accompanied him. His retinue now consisted but of three or four persons, and all of them very intent on their own preservation. There was one of them who knew the place where *Lochiel* resorted, whither he proposed to conduct the *Wanderer*, to

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which

which he agreed. However *Clunie M'Pherfon* and the others insisted on his staying with them a little longer, and promised to procure for him the news-papers as they came out.

About this time *Charles* received the news of the execution of the two lords, *Kilmarnock*, and *Balmerino*; and just then *Lochiel* sent him an invitation to repair to him, appointing a certain cave for the meeting-place. Accordingly, with his few attendants, he set out one evening about twilight, and travelled all night, dressed in the highland habit.—When arrived at the place where *Lochiel* was, they mutually embraced each other; and without loss of time began to consult on the most likely means to facilitate their escape from *Scotland*.

It was agreed that they should separately repair to the sea-side, and observe if any ship from *France* should appear;—that the person who should first make such discovery should immediately go on board, and direct the vessel how to proceed for the rest, and set up a signal agreed on, by which she might be known.

The *Cb—r* with his attendants, now made for the country of the *M'Kenzies*. Here they entered into the house of one *M'Ra*, who received them coldly, and told them, “ he “ did not believe it was safe to entertain such “ guests.”—Whereupon the *Cb—r* left the house with very little ceremony, and went towards the water-side, in hopes of meeting with his faithful boats-man *M'Kinnon*.

He

He waited forty-eight hours in the most anxious expectation, but no boat appeared. All night he sheltered himself on the sides of the hills, and in the day time walked along the shore, or sat down by the side of the rocks. At last *M'Kinnon* came with his boat, and meeting the *Ch—r*, embraced him with the most affectionate tenderness.—The Fugitive's case could not but raise pity ;—his linen was very foul, and his cloaths extremely worn ; his shoes broken in the upper leathers, and the soles worn through ; add to all this, he had the *Itch**.

The fisherman, *M'Leod*, received him into his boat with the greatest satisfaction, and conducted him to the house of a gentleman who gave him the heartiest welcome, supplied him with cloaths, linen, &c. Here he might have continued in undoubted safety, but it must not be, as he had agreed with *Lochiel* to be looking out for a ship. His next remove was to the Isle of *Sky*, where the boats-man conducted him to his own house, and entertained him with a fine hot supper of fresh fish, and sauce : he was accommodated also with a clean wholesome warm bed, though composed of no better materials than *straw* and good blankets.—It was now about

September 3. The boats-man now conveyed him to *Harris*, where they staid all night, and next day steered their course for *North-Vist* ; where they were kindly entertained. In short, all the day-time they spent at sea, and at night took care to get lodging in such houses and places of retreat as the Fisherman knew of.

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From

* *Young Ch—r*, p. 102.

From *North-Vist* they set sail for *Ardnamurchan*, after this he was conducted to *Scallisdal-bay* in *Mull*. Here being apprehensive that he might be discovered, he set sail for *Tobermory*, where they landed that night, and went strait to the young laird of *M'Kinnon's* house in *Muisnish*, where his lady, a sister of *Clanranald's*, kindly entertained him.

The King's *Trial* sloop of war getting intelligence of him, failed to *Tobermory* after him. Here in all likelihood the *Ch—r* had been taken, had not lady *M'Kinnon's* maid furnished him with woman's cloaths, to which he was again obliged for his safety. In this disguise he passed the guard, in company with the lady, and her maid, who gave the men money for their civility, in letting them go unmolested. The *Ch—r* and his protectors hastened down to that end of *Mull* which is nearest *Coll*, where he readily found entertainment. But being pursued thither, the *Ch—r* fled in the same boat to *Egg*, whither his pursuers also following him, he removed to *Barra*, and had been certainly taken, had not the boats-man brought up the boat to a place which the enemy could not observe; and, the very moment the King's men landed, the others again put to sea, and waisted the *Ch—r* over to *South-Vist*, and that very night he went to the harbour of *Flora*, where to his inexpressible joy, he found a *French* Schooner, of about 18 or 20 Tons, that had been waiting for him.—Besides the *Ch—r*, this vessel also took on board seven persons; among whom was the *Ch—r's* faithful and beloved *Lochiel*.

The next morning, viz. *Sep. 17*, they set sail

fail for *Boulogne*, and after a few days passage arrived safe in that harbour, to the amazement of all who saw them.

Thus finisheth the *genuine Narrative* of all that befel the *Pretender's Son*, *Charles*, from his defeat at *Culloden* to his escape to *France*.

The *Edinburgh* history of the *Rebellion*, 1745, and 1746 is, I suppose, in the best esteem, of any history of that event, and it supports the authority of the tract from whence we have gathered the wanderings of young *Charles*. The preface to the *Edinburgh History*, second edition, says, "It may be observed, that this history does not enter much into what befel the *Chevalier* after the battle of *Culloden*, as a full account thereof has been lately published, [in *The Young CHEVALIER*; or *genuine Narrative* of all that befel, &c.] And which may serve as a second part to this work."

"The transactions of the memorable years, 1745, and 1746, ought to be transmitted with the utmost candour, the strictest impartiality and truth to succeeding generations."—And certainly to keep up the remembrance of such interesting events must be prudent in *politics*, and at the same time a debt which religious Parents owe to piety, to inform their offspring how signally God has often saved his flock from the mouths of voracious enemies,—that they may teach their children.

"Thus shall they learn in God alone,

"Their hope securely stands,

"That they may ne'er forget his works,

"But practice his commands."

Pf. lxxviii. 7. Dr. *W—ts*.



A P P E N D I X,

P A R T II.

Giving a succinct Account of some of the most remarkable Deliverances from Ruin this Kingdom has experienced by the immediate Hand of GOD's signal Providence within Two Hundred Years last past :—Which ought to excite Gratitude and new Obedience.

IN the enumeration of the special favours God has shewn this kingdom, in rescues from extreme danger of its liberties both civil and sacred, I chuse to extract what the judicious author of *Britain's Remembrancer*, &c*. has laid together on this subject, with some alterations and additions.

“ To take no notice, says he, of the many wonderful preservations of the life of Queen *Elizabeth*, of immortal memory, from the almost innumerable plots of the *Papists* against her ; (which deliverances were in effect

* Such an esteem had the Rev. Mr. *John Barker* for this pamphlet, that in print he says, “ I cannot but wish it in every family ; and that it might be very attentively read and considered ”——

Sermon occasioned by the Victory, &c. p. 22.

effect the preservation of this nation from popery and slavery.) Yet since the year 1588, it is easy to shew that this nation has been ten or twelve different times in imminent danger of a total destruction of its liberties, civil and religious, and as often delivered by immediate and indisputable interpositions of Divine Providence."

1588.—In this year King *Philip* of Spain sent against us a fleet of such force, that by some it was impiously called "*The Invincible Armada*;" nor indeed had the world till then seen so powerful a naval armament. The seas were overspread with their sails, and the ocean groaned with their weight||. Scarcely had they displayed their pride to the inviting gales, when HE, *who holds the winds in his treasures*, let them loose upon the face of the great deep. He commanded them to lift up the stormy waves of the sea: *They mounted up to the heavens, they went down to the deeps; their souls melted within them because of their trouble.* The Almighty triumphed over them gloriously; their fleets, and their warriors he cast into the sea: *They sunk to the bottom as a stone: his right hand became glorious in power: his right hand scattered the face of the enemy.*

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|| They were three years preparing this Armament which consisted of 72 Gallies and Galleons, 47 Ships and Hulks, 11 Pinaces and Carvals, 2843 Great Ordnance, 8904 Sailors, 2088 Galley Slaves, 18,658 Soldiers, &c. Necessaries were provided on board for six months. Eighty-one of their vessels and 1700 men were destroyed, and many nobles, &c. taken prisoners.

The pious Queen was not backward to ascribe the glory of this victory to the immediate interposition of Heaven, ordering a medal to be struck with this inscription, "AFFLATA VIT DEUS, ET DISSIPANTUR;" *God blew with his wind, and they were scattered.*

1596.—In this year another attempt was made by the same power for a descent upon *England*, with a formidable naval armament; but a violent storm arising in the midst of the voyage, several of the ships were lost, and the rest so dispersed that the fleet was rendered unserviceable for that year. Thus *Elizabeth* had the pleasure of hearing that it was disabled from hurting her, before she knew of its sailing†.—*He that is mighty hath done glorious things for us; He hath scattered the proud in the imaginations of their hearts;—He hath taken our enemies in the very snare themselves laid for us, Ps. vii, 15, 16, 17. Ps. ix, 15, 16.*

1605.—‘ In this year, when that infernal
 ‘ power who has been long drunk with the
 ‘ blood of saints and martyrs found her cursed
 ‘ machinations against us disappointed;
 ‘ ever thirsting, ever insatiable of blood and
 ‘ slaughter, she resolved to strike a stroke
 ‘ that might at once cut off the hopes of all
 ‘ who opposed her interest in this land, by
 ‘ hurrying our king and chief rulers of the
 ‘ nation out of the world by one explosion
 ‘ of a mine of gun-powder. Deeply was
 ‘ the plot laid, and dark and secret was the
 ‘ hellish contrivance:—but *that EYE*, from
 ‘ which *the darkness hideth no more than the light*,
 ‘ before

‘ before which *hell is naked*, and destruction uncovered, saw all their horrid combinations, confounded their devices, brought them in ruin, and vengeance upon their own heads§.

1685, to 1688.—‘ In these years we saw our Regal Chair filled by a popish Prince, King *James II*, and his court and many principal places of power and trust, by persons devoted to the same interest. We saw the laws of *England*, the barriers of our freedom, broken; a standing army established to force us to receive a devilish religion and an arbitrary government; our Church insulted, and her true protestant Fathers and Overseers discarded (several of them) and imprisoned; no less than *seven Bishops* put in the Tower for presenting a petition to the King in favour of Religion and Liberty. We saw a bloody Inquisition (as it might be called) setting up in our country, though under a softer name [*Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs*], and began to feel the iron teeth of that merciless religion and tyranny;—several hundreds arbitrarily executed by Judge *Jesseries*, General *Kirk*, &c.

‘ These were scenes of gloominess and darkness,—these were days of horror and despair! How didst thou then *fair Liberty*, and thou *star-crowned Religion* * lift thy streaming eyes to heaven! and how didst thou, O my Country, faint with thy deadly wounds! how didst thou lie all pale and ghastly, wallowing in thy blood! Come glorious deliverer,

D 5

' liverer, come immortal *William!* For thee
 ' is reserved the honour of saving a miserable
 ' nation from spiritual and temporal slavery!
 ' —He came, he saw, he delivered.—The
 ' inconstant winds seemed proud to serve
 ' him, and the swelling floods smoothed their
 ' rage to waft him over. They shifted and
 ' calmed in the minute he needed them; and
 ' his fleet was carried prosperously through
 ' the seas, while that of the enemy was shut
 ' up in port.—The winds breathed a gentle
 ' and favourable gale, till his fleet was se-
 ' cured, and then broke out in a violent
 ' storm upon that which came against him;
 ' they were scattered and forced into ports,
 ' and their hopes, and the fears of protestants
 ' at the same time extinguished†.—

' This (*the winds so shifting*) was a greater
 ' happiness than we were aware of," says Bi-
 ' shop *Burnet**, ' For the Lord *Dartmouth*,
 ' admiral of King *James's* fleet, assured me
 ' some time after, that, whatever stories we
 ' had heard and believed either of officers
 ' or seamen, he was confident they would all
 ' have fought very heartily. But now, by the
 ' immediate hand of Heaven, we were mas-
 ' ters of the sea without a blow.'—' I never
 ' found (adds he) a disposition to superstition
 ' in my temper: I was rather inclined to be
 ' philosophical upon all occasions. Yet I
 ' confess, that this strange ordering of the
 ' winds and seasons, to change just as our
 ' affairs

† See Bishop *Burnet's* account, who was himself
 in the fleet with the prince of *Orange*. *Burnet's*
Hist. vol. I. p. 787, sq.

* *Bp. B—ts Hist.* vol. I. 789, 790.

‘ affairs required it, could not but make
 ‘ deep impressions on me, as well as on all
 ‘ that observed it.—Those famous verses of
 ‘ *Claudian* seemed to be more applicable to the
 ‘ Prince of Orange than to him on whom
 ‘ they were made,

“ Onimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
 “ Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti !

*Heaven's Favourite, for whom the skies do fight—
 And all the winds conspire to guide thee right !”*

1690. When King *William* was at the head of his army in *Ireland*, in the bloody field of *Boyne*, the heroic deliverer, bravely shewing his love of this country and his contempt of death in its most frightful forms, appeared in the most extreme danger. While thousands fell at his right hand and his left, the sure messenger of death (a cannon-ball, which grazed his shoulder) passed so near him as to violate his sacred person ; but at the same time passed guiltless of his important life. A sure proof, that the eye of Providence watched over him, and that the hand of God was around him to ward off every fatal blow ! For had he fallen at that critical time, the glorious labours of those worthy patriots and of the excellent Prince who wrought our deliverance had been lost, the hopes of the protestants dashed, the *Revolution* had been again unhinged, and *Popery* again let loose upon us.

1692.—In this year a formidable armament from *France* was brought down to *Cherbourg* and *La-Hogue*, opposite to our coast, and em-
 D 6 barked

barked to invade us when we were in no condition to resist it. "If the winds had favoured the French, they themselves would have brought us the first news of their design" (Bp. B—t's Hist. Vol. II. p. 93). Their fleet was even got into our seas before ours was ready to receive them; but its course was soon stopt, and that for some time, by winds contrary to them, but so favourable to us, that our whole force was got together before they could advance. Upon this followed the most glorious naval victory ever gained, with the destruction of best part of the enemy's fleet, on their own coast, and in their very fight.—In this whole affair there was such a conjunction of extraordinary interpositions of Providence, that he who had the greatest share in the action, Admiral *Ruffel*, thought it no diminution of his honour to reckon up a whole train of them, and to acknowledge, that the success of that happy day was owing to *the immediate hand of God*.

1696.—The attempt of invasion was renewed, and preparatory to it an *assassination* of King *William* was determined; (there had been a similar design on foot in the year 1692, see Bp. B—t's Hist. vol. II. p. 95.) This black contrivance, worthy only of *France* or *Rome*, was discovered but two days before it was to have been executed, by some who were practised on to engage them in it. And as the design was thus disappointed at home; so by a kind Providence our fleet which was designed to be sent to a very great distance was kept in our ports by cross winds, which were very unusual at that season of the year;
and

and then the same person who formerly had the command, when the same enemy was defeated, took it upon him again and went with our fleet toward their coast, till they saw the design impracticable, and dispersed themselves.

1708.—The *Pretender* was invited over into *Scotland*, to make his claim to the kingdom, by many *Jacobites*, persons of quality, viz. the Duke of *Hamilton*, Duke of ———, the *Earl Marshal*, the earl of *Wigtown*, earl of *Errol*, Lord *John Drummond*, and many others. *Lewis the XIV.* intending to make him his tool, provided for him a fleet and twelve battalions of soldiers, to make an invasion on *Scotland*. Accordingly in the month of *March* a considerable squadron of men of war, under the command of Count de *Fourbin*, with the *Pretender*, and forces on board, appeared before the Frith of *Edinburgh*. This city was to have been betrayed into their hands, but under Providence, some of the conspirators were taken; and upon Sir *George Byng's* approach with the English fleet, the *French* made off with all the sail they could; only one of their men of war, the *Salisbury*, was taken, the rest escaped to *France*; shame and disappointment being their promotion.*

1714—Another remarkable crisis was in this year. The restless and indefatigable enemy of the protestant religion and our present happy establishment, had for a considerable time been undermining them, and secretly work-

* History of the reigns of the *Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 402, &c.

working their ruin; so that their schemes were in the above-mentioned year, in great forwardness; too many well-wishers to that interest, from which we have every thing to fear, having wormed themselves into the court of *Queen Anne*, and into places of great power and influence; so that several violent steps were actually taken, the sure presages of what we had to expect; and all things were going forward in the fairest manner they could desire for reducing us again under the power of the same family we before had been obliged to exclude from the British succession;—a family educated in principles of cruelty and blood, and besides exasperated by their late disgrace. Heaven at this dangerous juncture again looked down upon us. Death was sent in the critical moment to cut short the royal life before the fatal schemes were ripe for bringing a popish *Pretender* to fill the throne. The *Jacobite* party openly declared, that had the queen lived six weeks longer, and things continued as they then were, their schemes had been ready for execution.

The consequence of this remarkable Providence (the unexpected death of the *Queen*) was, that the affairs of *England* immediately went into another channel. The schemes of the disaffected party were unhinged, and the illustrious house of *Hanover* ascended the British throne, came very seasonably to prevent them, and once more to confound their pretensions; and this without so much as a single blow struck, or one drop of blood shed, to make way for its accession.

1715. This

1715.—This year is memorable for the Rebellion in *Scotland*, headed by the earl of *Marr* (who took upon him the title of Lieutenant general of the *Pretender's* forces, whom he called James the VIII.) in conjunction with the Rebellion in *England*, called the *Preston Rebellion*. The insulting enemy plumed themselves with as sanguine hopes of gaining their point, as tho' they had never been once disappointed. "We have not forgot (says *Britain's Remembrancer*), that they raised in our country an army of rebels, which almost shook the pillars of the throne. It is also very well known that they placed their chief dependence on that ambitious power, *France*, which had all along been the patron of their boasted cause. And what the consequence must have been, if Providence had suffered *France* to have landed a powerful body of forces to second them, while the whole regular force of this nation did not amount to ten thousand men, is very obvious. But HE, who at his pleasure cuts short the distant prospects of ambitious men, who has in his hand the breath of the mightiest monarchs, by one timely stroke put an end to the life of a king (*Lewis XIV. of France*†), who had been for threescore years the plague and scourge of *Europe*, reduced his kingdom to the precarious state of a *minority*, and disabled it from lending that assistance to our enemies in rebellion which they expected. The upshot was, that
an

† He died *Sep. 1. 1715*. See the remarkable Providence respecting his death, related by Dr. *Doddridge*, in his *Life of Col. James Gardiner*, p. 20, 21, 22.

an easy conquest gave them into our hands ; a few of the rebels the government punished ; but a much greater number their unequalled lenity spared ; which lenity they very ill requited by their late ungrateful and brutal attempt to overturn that very government to which some of them owed their lives."

1719—This year, in *March*, Captain *Gardiner* (afterwards the renowned Colonel *Gardiner*) arrived from *France*, being sent express by the Earl of *Stair*, his Majesty's ambassador at *Paris*, with an account that the preparations of the *Spaniards* at *Cadiz*, were certainly designed against *England*. The transports there took on board thirteen battalions, and a regiment of dragoons, all or most of them *Irish* papists : *Ormond* was to head them, and *Sarsfield* went to *Ireland* to see what could be done in that kingdom, in favour of the *Pretender*. King *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, was engaged to have joined the *Spaniards* in this invasion with his forces, when he had taken *Fredericstadt* ; but it was so ordered in divine Providence, that he lost his life there, Dec. 11, 1718.

The *Spanish* fleet consisted of about fifty transports, having on board 5000 men, and arms for twice that number ; they were convoyed by four men of war ; and about fifty leagues off *Cape Finislerre* met with a violent storm, which lasted 48 hours, and the *Commodore*, of 64 brass guns, having thrown all of the upper quarter deck overboard and lost all her masts, made for the coast of *Spain*, as did the other ships with the soldiers, and what remained of them and their horses were for the most part sick and unserviceable.

Their

Their intention was to have made up the *Bristol Channel*, and to have landed at or near that city. His Majesty's ships on the coast of *Scotland* were so stationed as to cut off all supplies at sea that might be sent to the rebels from *Spain*; and the *Spaniards* which had been landed at *Kintail*, in the shire of *Ross*, with some principal rebels, *Seaforth*, *Marischal* and *Tullibardine*, to the number of about 400, soon found they were in a net and could not get out of it but at the discretion of the king's forces*. They had got possession of *Donan* castle, but on the *Worcester* and *Flamborough* men of war cannonading it, they surrendered. This blow obliged the rebels to shift their quarters. Major General *Wightman* found the body of the rebels more advantageously posted at *Strachill*, and tho' they were near 2000 in number, and the king's troops not 1000, yet they drove them from all their fastnesses, and dispersed them. The *Spaniards*, 270, surrendered prisoners at discretion, and delivered up their arms: The traitors *Marischal*, *Seaforth*, and *Tullibardine*, got away to the islands, and from thence escaped by shipping."||

We shall conclude our memorial of these wonderful deliverances with again reflecting on what was before hinted at; the *signal Providence of God* in our favour, in 1743-4. How the same implacable power that was so long the firebrand of *Christendom*, did this year (in February) get together against us an embarkation consisting of 16000 men, with arms for the friends of the *Jacobites* interest in our country, to the number

* *Oldmixon's Hist.* vol. II. p. 677, 678.

|| *Ibid.* p. 679.

ber of many thousand stands besides. That they were suffered but just to peep out of their harbours, and were presently by a storm, wrecked, sunk, and dashed on the shore; that the bodies of many hundreds were taken up on the *French* coast; and that the fleet was totally disabled from hurting us, before we set sail to attack it: (see the *Gazettes* of *February* and *March* 1743.) “As if, (says *Britain’s Remembrancer*,) that kind Providence, which so tenderly watches over us, had been unwilling to let us take the trouble of conquering our enemies, or run the hazard of suffering any loss from them, but chose rather to bid us “*stand still and see the salvation of God.*”*

Then followed those remarkable interpositions of Providence, in 1745 and 1746, which have been shewn more at large in the Application of the Sermon, and in part I. of this Appendix.

Can we look back upon the hideous precipices we have so narrowly escaped, without hearts full of gratitude and stedfast resolutions of future obedience? Are not these deliverances given, “*That we might observe his statutes and keep his laws?*” *Pf. cv. 45.* Are not these a chain of preservations which for their uncommon nature and circumstances may be applied as arguments for a Providence sufficient to silence infidelity itself?—“I know,” says my author, “it is not in the eye of heaven of such consequence, what particular sect or subdivision of religion, a nation or person is of, where

* *Exodus* xiv. 13.

where due reverence is had to those laws he has established by his sacred Messenger, who came to be *the light* of the world. But the difference between the *popish* and *protestant* religions is the same as between darkness and light; between incredible absurdities, and certain truths; between diabolical cruelty, and heavenly benevolence; between *Satan*, and *JESUS CHRIST*.—It is therefore no wonder if the Almighty has determined to prevent by the most singular interpositions, the general establishment of that *ecclesiastic power* whose business has been to subvert true religion and moral virtue, and which has, for more than a thousand years been scattering delusion, impiety, corruption, fire, sword, and desolation, over the kingdoms of the earth!—And shall we, for the sake of a little guilty pleasure, and fleeting amusement, drop or give up the pure and sublime religion [of the Bible] which God himself has by so many visible interpositions taken care to preserve among us?—I mention giving up the Protestant religion for *pleasure*, because nothing in the world is so likely to open a door to *Popery* as *unbounded luxury and voluptuousness*; it being a religion calculated for the indulgence of the lusts and appetites of men.”

To close the whole.—How aggravated must our guilt be, in this kingdom, if after so many and such great deliverances, the distinguishing character of this land should be *irreligious and luxurious*? — Doubtless from irreligion and luxury predominant, will flow “venality, “perjury, faction, opposition to legal authority, idleness, gluttony, drunkenness, “lewd-

“ lewdness, excessive gaming, robberies, clan-
 “ destine marriages, breach of matrimonial
 “ vows, self-murders, and innumerable other
 “ vices ;—furies sufficient to rend any state
 “ or empire that ever was in the world to
 “ pieces*.”—Whether our impiety and luxury
 have not given life to such furies let the read-
 er judge. Wherever it is thus, it is to be ex-
 pected the all-wise and holy Governor will
 shew his displeasure, it may be, by *war, fa-*
mine, &c. And, if those tokens are not regard-
 ed and improved to repentance and reforma-
 tion, but irreligion and luxury with their
 poisonous issue increase,—the most infamous
 and entire destruction of *such an INCORRIGI-*
BLE people may well be feared to be *near, even*
at the door!—When *Judah, and Jerusalem* were
 become extremely degenerate and refused to
 be reformed, God did yet graciously warn,
 instruct, and invite them by his prophet *Jere-*
miah ; and it stands upon record *for our admo-*
nition, upon whom the ends of the world are come ;
Jer. vi. 7, 8.—As a fountain casteth out her water,
so she casteth out her wickedness : violence and spoil is
heard in her ; before me continually is grief and
wounds.—Be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest
my soul depart from thee : lest I make thee desolate,
a land not inhabited.”

6 AP 58

END OF THE APPENDIX.

A HYMN

* See the instances of this in the *Assyrian, Baby-*
lonian, Persian Empires, &c. as specified in *Britains*
Rememb. Page 7—13.

A H Y M N,

To bring to Remembrance many National Deliver-
ances—To the Praise of the Most High.

Pfalm ix. 16.

I.

BRING, bring, ye favour'd BRITISH Lands,
To holy Zion's trophied Hill,
That Tribute answer'd Pray'r demands,
'Tis there JEHOVAH triumphs still.

II.

Mark how the sacred Bards of old,
From *Israel* sprung, Kings, Priest, and Seers,
In Songs divine GOD's Wonders told;
And, grateful, blend your Praise with theirs.

III.

In *Pagan* Darknefs, worse than Night,
Our Fathers worshipp'd Wood and Stone;
JESUS, the Day-Star, beam'd us Light,
And claim'd the Kingdom for his own*.

IV.

When *Popish* Errors rear'd their head,
And Truth oppress'd by Falshood lay,
HE spake—and REFORMATION spread: 1377
And the black Night again was Day. 1547

V.

When *Marian* Persecution rose, 1553
Ungrateful, bloody, and extreme,
His Martyrs dying, crush'd their Foes;
ROME's Prospects vanish'd like a Dream.

VI.

When *Spain* to execute the Deed 1588
Exerted all her Naval Power,
JESUS, our King, with Ease and Speed
Sunk the Design as in an Hour.

VII.

When hellish Zeal in *Popery's* Cause 1605
Laid deep the horrid trait'rous snare
To blast the King, the State, the Laws—
It fail'd thro' our Great GUARDIAN's Care.

* The first Christian King was in England in the
Second Century.

VIII.

A JESUIT rul'd a MONARCH's View, 1688
 And drove him swift in *Rome's* Career :
 But Heaven frown'd and overthrew
 The Chariot and the Charioteer.

IX.

ASSASSINS join'd to take away 1696
 The precious life of great NASSAU :
 The Hand divine o'er-rul'd the Day,
 And gave the Traitors to the Law.

X.

STATESMEN, perfidious to their Trust, 1714
 Held *Britain's* Helm and *Rome-ward* steer'd ;
 They brought our Glory to the Dust ;
 DEATH came, and stopt worse woes we fear'd*.

XI.

ILLUSTRIOUS GEORGE receiv'd the Crown, 1715
 And Northern Rebels soon combin'd,
 They hop'd to tread the HERO down,
 But Shame and Punishment they find.

XII.

By shifting Winds, how oft has Heaven 1588
 Sav'd *Britain* from th' invading Foe ! 1596
 Signal Salvations have been given, 1688
 Where *Britons* have not struck a Blow. 1692, &c.

6 AP 58

XIII.

In *Forty-six* our Sires can tell 1745
 Bloody Rebellion reign'd again ; 1746
 They can relate how Rebels fell,
 Tho' back'd by *France*, and *Rome*, and *Spain*.

XIV.

Bring, bring, ye favour'd BRITISH Lands,
 To holy *Zion's* trophied Hill,
 That Tribute answer'd Pray'r demands,
 'Tis there JEHOVAH triumphs still.

XV.

Rejoice with Fear ! O love the Lord !
 Be true and faithful to his SON,
 Revere his Sabbaths and his Word,
 STILL you'll be sav'd, your Foes undone.

* So *Lewis XIV.* of *F.* and *Charles XII.* of *Sweden* died seasonably for this nation.

E R R A T A.

Page.

4. Advertisement line 5 after "*well disposed,*" insert *to be instructed in the days of their youth (as young Josiah and Timothy) "it is now published, &c.*
16. last line of Note, for "*in it.* And (*to cut off, &c.* read "*in it; and so cut off, &c.*
17. first line of Note, for *escape,*) read *escape."*
- ib. line 6. for *Mauton* read *Manton*
38. last line, for *bartle* read *battle*
59. 2d line of Note, for *Galkases,* read *Galeasses*
36. line 7, for *Onimium* read *Oninium*